

L. XIV, 2

# Social Action

PUBLISHED BY DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY 222 South Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana

February, 1960

## CIAL WORK MINISTRY PANDS IN THE CHURCHES

Vithin the growing urbanization of our ety are to be found numerous and varneeds. However, to narrow the scope his discussion we wish to confine it to se which the church faces in changing munities within the urban society. netimes the community becomes a e of modern cliff-dwellers because -standard and slum areas have been aced by huge new housing projects; etimes the community around a rch has become one of many cultures races; again a community may change n the comfortable, middle class popuon to that of low-income residents the accompanying problems of vded housing conditions, deteriorating perty and working parents with no ervision of the free time of their chiland youth.

these situations the staff of the rich should include one or two well-ned social workers. One should be red in the techniques of group work that constructive programs operate inuously for the various segments of community population. There is not and fast pattern to follow—each munity is "individual" in its needs resources available to meet those is, but a trained worker will be able analyze a given situation and then it a program that will enrich the lives nose it is able to touch.

he case work necessary in such comities also requires a person especially ned. A group work-case work combinacan be assigned to one person, but the cload is apt to increase much beyond time and physical stamina he has lable. However, the combination is er than none at all. The basic concept which the case worker functions is the f that every man should have an







WHO ARE THE DUTCH INDONESIANS



Dutch Indonesians are an uprooted people. More than 200,000 of them were repatriated to Holland since Indonesia became independent . . . making a net population increase in the Netherlands of about 60,000 people a year since 1949.

In the past few months Disciples have welcomed 26 of these people into their communities and look forward to receiving over 125 within the next few months before Public Law 85-892 terminates the end of June this year.

The people who have already come to the United States readily adapt to American life. Most of them are Protestant, Dutch in education, culture and political sympathy.

equal opportunity to develop his potentials for living in harmony with himself and his fellow men. The worker must have an understanding of people's motives and emotions, the disciplined ability to listen, a sympathetic objectivity, and plans for working cooperatively.

A glimpse at the future reveals an increasing number of older people who will have special needs, of families whose problems require the expert help of persons with special skills, just to add a few more categories of social needs to those already described.

Disciples of Christ as a brotherhood must face the responsibility to make possible scholarship funds to assist qualified young people at the graduate level. Vocationally, young people looking for a new and challenging field of service will do well to explore the church-related social work profession.

RUTH E. MILNER

The Dutch Government covers the entire cost of transportation (the people come with a three months hospital and accident insurance policy) and cooperates with the World Council of Churches in selecting deserving and worthy people who will be a credit to their new church, their homeland and to America.

Disciples have 38 families for whom responsibility has been accepted. Some of the people are mechanics, aircraft workers, newspaper rotary press operator, storekeepers, auditors, firemen, farmers, factory workers, carpenters, shipping clerks, custodians, welders, surveyors, saw mill workers, radio technicians, waiters, bakers, attorneys, draughtsmen, wireless operator, doctors, domestic and pilots.

Most of these Dutch Indonesian people speak English. They have proved themselves industrious, cooperative, reliable and competent and look to American Christians for help in helping themselves.

ELLA L. WILLIAMS

#### YOUR BOMB TEST DECISION

Four men made a decision. The men were: President Eisenhower, Mr. Herter, Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas Gates, Secretary of Defense, and Mr. John Mc-Cone, head of the Atomic Energy Commission. The decision was that the U.S. would not renew its moratorium on nuclear weapon tests when it expired December 31, 1959. In theory, this does not necessarily mean the resumption of tests. President Eisenhower's statement said that tests would not be resumed without warning. Actually, this means that the U.S. now feels itself free at any time to continue its nuclear testing. With the pressure that comes from the Pentagon, the A.E.C. and other groups the likelihood of new U.S. tests is very real.

#### **Threefold Danger**

The danger from such tests is threefold. First, if such tests are made in the atmosphere the additional exposure to fallout with its cumulative results is significantly increased. Second, for the U.S. to resume testing or to even indicate that it feels free to do so, gives encouragement to other nations to begin testing. France with her proposed Sahara tests is a case in point. This then makes the problem of disarmament increasingly difficult as the number of nations who are involved in Atomic tests increases. Third, for the United States to threaten to resume testing, tends to plunge us once more into the spiral of suspicion, fear and hate which has been somewhat allayed in the past 12 or 14 months.

#### SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

Published monthly, except for joint July-August issue, by the Department of Social Welfare, The United Christian Missionary Society, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

Subscription price \$1.00 per year.

Entered as second class mail matter September 2, 1943, at Indianapolis, Indiana, under the Act of March 2, 1879.

Editorial Staff: Barton Hunter, Lewis H. Deer, Ruth E. Milner, Robert A. Fangmeier, Thomas J. Griffin, Loisanne Buchanan.

The opinion and points of view expressed in the publication are those of the editors and do not necessarily represent The United Christian Missionary Society.

#### Two Way Risk

One can understand our government's feelings in the matter. In a sense, if the moratorium on testing is extended indefinitely without agreement on observation posts and other inspection arrangements, Russia wins her position without an honest discussion and joint decision on it. On the other hand there is little to be lost in an extension of the moratorium as long as real negotiations are under way. For our government to have extended it for another year conditional upon like extensions by Britain and Russia would not have weakened her bargaining position. If as many observers believe, real progress has been made in reaching inspection agreements, then it becomes all the more important for our government to do everything possible to create and preserve the best climate of discussion and negotiation possible.

#### Four Men Made Your Decision

One suspects that the four men who made the decision had varied motives. One or two no doubt feel that only the threat of mutual suicide via massive atomic bomb retaliation will suffice to hold off war and give us some sort of place at the world bargaining table. They are doubtless just as happy for an excuse to bring the moratorium to an end. Several, probably, were genuinely interested in arriving at some sort of agreement on mutual inspection procedures and the gradual reduction of armaments, but at the same time were of the honest opinion that Russia was dragging her feet in the negotiations and needed to be prodded by the threat of test resumptions. Perhaps all felt that the U.S. was losing the arms race and also her prestige in the negotiations by following, in practice if not in theory. the Russian suggestion of cessation without inspection. (The assumption being that Russia would continue her tests no matter what she said!)

Four men made a decision that may well be crucial in deciding the fate of the world. Many will agree with them. Those who don't have a special burden of responsibility in making known their views.

BARTON HUNTER

## UPHAUS DESERVES CLEMENCY

Dr. Willard Uphaus is now serving a one year term in Merrimack County jail Boscawen, New Hampshire. He has not been convicted of any crime; he has not even been accused of a crime. His sentence is to "purge" him of a contempt conviction.

The contempt conviction resulted from the refusal of Dr. Uphaus, on grounds of conscience, to turn over to the New Hampshire Attorney General the list of guests at the summer camp which Uphaus serves as Director. Uphaus answered all questions about himself when called before the Attorney General, but he refused to provide the names of those who had been guests or participants in the camp.

The conviction came in 1956. Since then it has been appealed through the state and federal courts. In October, 1959, the Supreme Court of the United States in a 5 to 4 opinion upheld the Attorney General. The case then returned to the jurisdiction of the New Hampshire Courts. Dr. Uphaus was sentenced of December 14.

Dr. Uphaus is a Methodist and appealed to the teaching and discipline of his church in defending his refusal to turn over the list of names. He also has identified himself as a Christian pacifist.

On the day of his sentencing a petition appealing for suspension was addressed to the New Hampshire authorities. The 111 who signed the petition included: John M. Swomley, Jr., Co-Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Martin Luther King; James Luther Adams; John Companies, Norman Thomas, Congressman Byron L. Johnson and William H. Meyes The appeal was rejected.

Appeals for clemency are possible. Lesters should be addressed to: Hon. George E. Grant, Jr., Superior Court of Merrimas County, Concord, New Hampshire, or t Governor Wesley Powell, Concord, N. H.

Dr. Uphaus, as the Washington Poopointed out, has some qualification for asserting the "rights of Christian conscience"; he holds the Ph.D. Degree Religious Education and has taught both Yale Divinity School and Vanderbio University's School of Religion.

Reprinted by Permission from Washington Newsletter of the Friend's Committee on National Legislation.

#### CHINA POLICY UNDER REVIEW

Disarmament, UN Seating, U.S. Recognition, Travel and Trade are Key Issues

ceretary of State Christian Herter told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee January 21 that Communist hinese participation is "inevitable" if a disarmament agreement between East and West is to be effective. e said, however, that such an agreement would not imply recognition of the Peiping Government by the .S. The same day Communist Chinese Foreign Minister Marshall Chen Yi said that "any international disarmatent agreement which is arrived at without formal participation of the Chinese People's Republic, or signature of sedlegates cannot, of course, have any binding force on China." Last October, after Khrushchev's United States sit, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai gave notice that China "must have the right to participate in any important atternational issue which concerns her own interest or the interest of world peace."

hese statements highlight the dilemma—how to obtain Communist Chinese participation in a test ban treaty and disarmament agreements while maintaining a "no-recognition" policy and refusing to negotiate with top Chinese communist representatives. This *Newsletter* attempts to suggest some next steps in China Policy and to set forth ome pros and cons of U.S. recognition and UN seating of the People's Republic of China.

#### WHAT COULD THE U.S. DO NOW?

- 1. Bring Communist China into discussions on disarmament and ending nuclear weapons tests. Should not an attempt be made to include China in the proposed Control Commission to carry out a test ban treaty? Shouldn't China also be a member of an expanded East-West disarmament negotiation group?
- 2. Allow U.S. newsmen, religious leaders, businessmen, tourists and others to travel in China. The Government could help break the travel impasse by allowing an equal number of Chinese newsmen to enter the United States without requiring approval of each applicant.
- 3. Support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN at next autumn's sessions of the General Assembly. The United States should begin immediately to seek a UN-approved solution for the future status of Taiwan which will safeguard the rights of the Nationalist Chinese and the Taiwanese.
- 4. Extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China. Our government is anxious to get assurances from the Chinese government that force will not be used against the Chinese Nationalist Government, or her neighbors in Vietnam, Korea, Laos, and India.

#### Present U.S. Policy

Last October the People's Republic of China celebrated the first 10 years of its existence. Relations with this huge, expanding and dynamic nation raise some of the most important, controversial, complex and emotion-charged issues facing U.S. policy makers.

"At present, U.S. policy is strong committed to the maximum isolation of Communist China, and the full recognition of the National Government on Taiwan as the Government of China... Our policy is composed of political non-recognition, economic embargo, and opposition to almost all forms of interaction between the free world and mainland China," states the Conlon Report prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The United States has entered into agreements to protect most of the non-Communist countries of Eastern and Southern Asia and armed some of its forces in the Far East with nuclear weapons.

#### UN Action

China is a charter member of the UN and a permanent member of the Security Council where it holds a veto. At present the losing side in the Chinese civil war represented by the Nationalist Government on Taiwan holds the "China" seat. Every year since 1953 a motion to seat the mainland China government has been made. To date the United States has successfully opposed the seating by winning on a motion to postpone consideration of the subject. Over the years the U.S. majority has decreased. In September 1959 the U.S. margin of victory was 44 to 29 with 9 abstentions, almost un-

## -- NEWS -- from - the -- NATIONS -- CAPITO

changed from the 1958 vote of 44-28-9, despite widespread concern over China's militant policy in Tibet and India. Burma, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark are among the nations that voted to consider seating Communist China in 1959.

#### U.S. Public Opinion Shifting

In November 1958 the Fifth World Order Study Conference convened by the National Council of Churches, in the message issued by the participants, said:

"With reference to China, Christians should urge reconsideration by our government of its policy in regard to the People's Republic of China. While the rights of the people of Taiwan and of Korea should be safeguarded, steps should be taken toward the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for its recognition by our government. Such recognition does not imply approval. These diplomatic relations should constitute a part of a much wider relationship between our peoples.

"The exclusion of the effective government on the mainland of China, currently the People's Republic of China, from the international community is in many ways a disadvantage to that community. It helps to preserve a false image of the United States and of other nations in the minds of the Chinese people. It keeps our people in ignorance of what is taking place in China. It hampers negotiations for disarmament. It limits the functioning of international organizations. We have a strong hope that the resumption of relationships between the peoples of China and of the United States may make possible also a restoration of relationships between their churches and ours."

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund issued a report last December 7 urging a "candid recognition" of the realities of the position of Communist China. The Conlon Report on September 1 recommended to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a period of "exploration and negotiation" looking toward U.S. recognition and UN seating of mainland China.

Delegates to the Western Young Democrats Conference voted last August 29 in favor of trade and diplomatic relations with Communist China.



#### Congressional Reaction

Since 1948 the House has voted 16 times to oppose seating Communist China in the UN. The most recent vote last August was 368 to 2. Reps. Thomas L. Ashaley, Ohio, and William H. Meyer, Vt., voted against the resolution; Charles O. Porter, Ore., and Byron L. Johnson, Colo., were paired against it. The Senatet has taken a similar stand on many occasions.

Are these overwhelming votes a realistic indication of Congressional opinion? Rep. Robert W. Kasten meier, Wis., said he was not convinced that the House vote of August 17 "faithfully reflects an exact conresensus of the House." While not committing them selves to immediate recognition of China, a number of members have expressed dissatisfaction with China policy, including Senators Engle, Calif.; Fulbright Ark.; Humphrey, Minn.; McGee, Wyo.; Morse and Neuberger, Ore.; Representatives Holifield, Calif.; Edith Green, Ore., and others.

A change in Congressional attitude could enable the State Department to alter its position.

#### FACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

 The Chinese people are the most ancient social group in the modern world. • Mainland China is slightly larger than the 50 United States. • It is the world's most populous nation, and contains about one-fourth of the people of the earth. • Peiping's foreign trade has doubled in the past decade. At present Communist China is trading with more than 80 non-Communist areas. • On a percentage basis, its foreign economic aid program is comparable to that of the United States.

#### SUGGESTED READING

"Red China, the First Ten Years," Atlantic Monthly, Dec. 1959. "Ten Years of Red China," The Progressive, Oct. 1959 Mao's China, Peggy Durdin, Foreign Policy Association, 1959, 35¢

Should the U.S. Change Its China Policy? Eustace Seligman and Richard L. Walker, Foreign Policy Association, 1958, 35¢. China, 1959, 30¢ and Our China Policy, 20¢. Distributed by the American Friends Service Committee.

Asia, Conlon Associates, Ltd., prepared for and obtainable from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Hearings on China and Disarmament, Feb. 23, 1959, Walter S. Robertson, Charles Burton Marshall, A. Doak Barnett. Obtainable from the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament.

The Republic of China, Dept. of State Pub. 6844, Oct. 1959, 25¢. Description of Taiwan and U.S. policy toward Nationalist China. U.S. Policy on Nonrecognition of Communist China, Dept. of State Pub. 6705, Sept. 1958, 10¢. (State Dept. publications from U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

The United States and China, John King Fairbank, Harvard University Press, 1059, 2550.

sity Press, 1958. \$5.50.

What's Happening in China? Lord Boyd Orr and Peter Townsend,
Doubleday, 1959, 159 pp. \$3.75.

## -- NEWS -- from - the -- NATIONS -- CAPITOL --

### SHOULD U.S. RECOGNIZE CHINA AND SUPPORT UN SEATING?

Walter S. Robertson, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, summed up the official position of the ited States in a speech before the UN General sembly on September 21, 1959. A condensation of address follows:

United States is opposed to seating the Chinese mmunists in the United Nations. Our objections based upon the United Nations Charter. A member st be peace-loving and willing to take collective ion to maintain peace and security.

"peace loving". In nine years Communist China promoted six foreign or civil wars—Korea, Tibet, ochina, the Philippines, Malaya and Laos. It has ght the United Nations. It has been found by it be an aggressor. It continues to defy the United tions decision to reunify Korea. It has flagrantly ated the Korea and Indochina International Armistrated the Korea in the Taiwan Strait.

ring the Korean war the Chinese Communists comted many atrocious acts against thousands of prisers of war. Through months of cruel and degrading atment they forced dozens of our men to sign rageous fabricated confessions about imaginary acts germ warfare. Within mainland China, they have ested hundreds of foreign Christian missionaries and ed many religious leaders.

seat in this body, founded to maintain the peace the world, an habitual offender against the peace, ald make a mockery of the Charter and rob it of the moral authority it now possesses.

tinues to threaten Taiwan. Since 1950, Communist na has been using armed force intermittently to be Taiwan and the offshore islands. In ninety amsadorial talks with U.S. representatives since 1955 by have refused to sign a reciprocal agreement to ounce use of force in the Taiwan Strait. They resed an invitation from the Security Council to dissente the crisis they had caused in the Taiwan Strait.

seat would not change aggressive policies. The nese Communists came to the United Nations once, he winter of 1950-51, and displayed an attitude of gance and bitter hatred; and they have been invited ake part in particular UN deliberations and have lined to do so. There is not the slightest evidence they would abate their aggressive policies if adted to the UN.

negotiate outside UN. The United States has neated with mainland China over the past eight years to Panmunjom, in Geneva and in Warsaw. We have otiated with them about Korea; about Indochina; at the prisoners of war whom they unlawfully tined; and about the Taiwan Strait. The lack is not for negotiation, but a willingness on the part the Chinese Communists to settle any important stion except by causing their opponents to surder.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

The world has teetered on the brink of war in the Far East three times since "Korea"—in Indochina and twice in the Formosa Straits. It must find some way to make progress toward world disarmament and toward bringing disputants to the conference table to negotiate under the force of world opinion. "The present course," wrote Sen. Clair Engle of Calif. in *The Progressive* for October

1959, "can lead only to disaster."

UN cannot achieve goals without aid of all nations. There can be no peace in the world without peace in Asia, brought about in part by general agreements arising out of prolonged negotiations. Such negotiations logically should fall within the framework of the United Nations which was founded to work on obstacles to peace. The future of Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam, as well as solutions to the problems of refugees and of prisoners of war, all depend on the cooperation of the Communist Chinese.

UN membership would not imply approval of the Communist Chinese regime, any more than it has implied approval of Russian Communism, or apartheid in South Africa, or the attack at Suez by Israel, Great Britain and France, or the suppression of liberty in Hungary.

China must be in disarmament arrangements. The world is threatened with the spectre of nuclear war. Before long mainland China may be a nuclear power. The United States should make its major goal the achievement of a disarmed world where military aggression and nuclear blackmail is impossible and disputes are settled peaceably under expanding world law.

A possible nuclear test ban treaty may be unacceptable to the U.S. Senate unless some formula is devised to include mainland China and set up inspection stations in her vast territory. So far the People's Republic of China has not been included in any general disarmament or test ban negotiations.

Eustace Seligman, former partner of John Foster Dulles, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 5, 1958, that: "No agreement, however limited, can be entered into if a government in control of the vast territory and population ruled by the Chinese Communist Government, is not a party. To attempt to negotiate such an agreement with Communist China as one of the parties, and at the same time to keep Communist China out of the United Nations, would appear to be an impossible position."

Adlai Stevenson, writing in the January 1960 Foreign Affairs, says: "it is clear that no general control of disarmament has any value unless it includes China, and it is difficult to see how China can accept international control when it is not, formally, a member of international society. Moreover, as a member of the United Nations, Communist China, with a quarter of the world's population, would be more accountable to world opinion than as an outcast."

UN membership may be a restraining influence. April 24, 1956, John Foster Dulles said that in the UN Gen-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

## -- NEWS -- from - the -- NATIONS -- CAPITOL --

#### NO - CONTINUED

**Does not represent Chinese people.** The Peiping regime was imposed by force and fraud with the volition of only a small fraction of the Chinese people. It has kept itself in power by bloody purges and by the liquidation of some 18,000,000 mainland Chinese in nine years.

Nationalist China upholds Charter. The Republic of China is entitled to the seat it occupies by virtue of being one of the original members of the UN and by reason of its consistent support for the Charter's principles. It is recognized as the legitimate government of China by a substantial majority of the countries of the world.





**No benefits from recognition.** Points stressed in a memorandum entitled "U.S. Policy on Nonrecognition of Communist China," sent in 1958 to all Foreign Service posts abroad, include the following:

Recognition would produce no tangible benefits to the United States or to the free world as a whole and would be of material assistance to Chinese Communist attempts to extend Communist domination throughout Asia. Diplomatic recognition is a privilege and not a right. Recognition would increase access to international councils and enhance international prestige. It would have an adverse effect on the free governments of Asia which could be disastrous to the cause of the free world. The large and influential overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia would transfer their loyalties to Communist China. Trade and negotiations can be carried on without recognition.



#### YES - CONTINUED

eral Assembly "international conduct is judged, some times formally but more often informally; and even the most powerful nations feel it expedient to be able to represent their conduct as conforming to this body of world opinion."

Future of Taiwan. No easy solution is in sight. One possibility would be for the residents of Taiwan to decide by a plebiscite under UN supervision whether to be an independent state, a trusteeship administered by another country, or a part of mainland China.

At the moment, a two-China solution is unacceptable to either the Nationalist or Communist regime. Having two Chinas in the UN would raise many legal and political questions but these should not be insolubled

Appeal to reservoir of good will. During the last century, the United States spent millions for hospitals schools, agricultural and mission stations in China Hundreds studied in American colleges. Contact should be revived with these people, many of whom may still be friendly to the United States, but are being subjected to an intense anti-American campaign.

World must move from animosity to reconciliation Many crimes against humanity were committed before and during World War II, including dropping atomic bombs on men, women and children. Yet the United States is now working closely with former "enemies." Should not the United States show humility, repent ance, and determination in trying to break through the political and ideological barriers that divide the world today?

The United States should seek to change the present dangerous course of history. Suppose the United States were to offer to share with the people of Communist China some of our \$7 billion worth of agricultural abundance; to open up channels of trade, communication and study; to restore diplomatic relations; to implicate mainland China in disarmament negotiations and UN deliberations. Would not this contribute morn to eventual peace than isolation, threats of massive retaliation, and military encirclement?

#### BOOK BRIEFS

on Social Issues

DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE Stephen King-Hall, Fellowship Publiions, Nyack, N. Y., 1959, 234 pp., 75.

Edward R. Murrow introduces Mr. ng-Hall to an American audience as a tinguished British professional soldier ho has written a book which should not ignored." It has already provoked vigous debate in Britain over the author's aclusion that modern war leaves only the means of defense for rational men—n-violence.

Mr. King-Hall would work for internanal control of armament but if this cant be achieved he advocates unilateral ion by Britain (or the U.S.A.) to take elf out of the arms race. Unilateral disnament and non-violence have not ned much favor in the west as moral ernatives to war. But the author is not pacifist and his case does not rest priarily on moral grounds. Strictly as deuse alternatives are these measures adcated when analysis exposes the inabilof anything else to defend us.

As a military man, the author takes a g, hard realistic look at modern mility theories of defense. He points out at the British White Paper frankly deres that the civilian population cannot defended in the event of a nuclear war. we cannot defend ourselves, or our way life, then what can we defend by mility means? is the question Mr. Kingll raises and answers.

THE WEST IN CRISIS by James P. rburg. Doubleday & Company, Inc., w York, 1959, 192 pp., \$1.50 (paper-k).

A former high government official and uncier in private life, Mr. Warburg has ome one of the prolific and useful commutators on foreign affairs. In this book, 25th, he deplores a policy of drift and pair which is losing many of the form policy battles and may lose the warnuman survival.

Mr. Warburg believes the world is pass-

ing swiftly through a revolutionary period when national governments will be forced to give up certain sovereign rights to an international agency. But he recognizes that nationalism and independence have a strong hold on the emotions and mind of men. His main concern at the moment is with possible next steps to help the United States regain its position of leadership in the effort to develop a just and lasting peace.

The main purpose of this book is to focus attention on the failure of a democratic society to respond with imagination to the technological and political challenges of the mid-twentieth century. Our lack of a coherent national purpose has resulted in a steady decline in national power and prestige. In science, education and industrial development, we are moving at a much slower pace than the Russians. Lack of national purpose is a part of and contributor to drift and despair in foreign affairs.

In conclusion Mr. Warburg puts a fair share of the blame for the crises in the west on the clergy. By their aloofness from political events the clergy have permitted the American people to be "conditioned to accept moral atrocity as a normal and necessary part of their existence."

PERMANENT PEACE by Tom Slick. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958, 181 pp., \$2.95.

Nuclear weapons propelled by guided missiles have rapidly outdated traditional concepts of international relations based upon national sovereignity, says Mr. Slick. If we are to control these weapons and avert a catastrophic war the author believes we must move beyond the United Nations to some form of enforceable world law.

"In order to accomplish an effective rule of law, at least a portion of national sovereignity has to be transferred to the United Nations . . . and its in this fact that we find the great public resistance to an effective peace program." To overcome public resistance Mr. Slick proposes a collective security system in which national forces and an international force would be balanced in an international control organization. This book, which presents the world federalist viewpoint, is

in some ways a more popular presentation of the theses of Clark and Sohn in "World Peace Through World Law."

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

STRENGTH OF MEN AND NATIONS by William Ernest Hocking. New York, Harper & Bros., 1959, \$3.50.

"Strength of Men and Nations" by William Ernest Hocking is a "tract for the times" focusing upon the sterile yet deadly stalemate in East-West relations. One does not have to agree with Dr. Hocking in order to shout with relief at his freshness of approach to the U. S.-Russian impasse.

Fundamental to his thought is faith in individual persons who in their "solitude" may discover their "ontological" unity with all men. Thus he concludes "The only genuine atheist is the man who believes that there are gulfs between 'right' men and 'wrong' men so great that no bridge can be thrown across them." In our common human hopes, needs and responses to ultimate reality Hocking finds hopes for a *continuation* of the process of creative accommodation which he sees being worked out between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R.

A large part of our present problem, he feels, stems from a false analysis of the position held by the U.S. and Russia, neither of which holds in actuality anything like the position it did 30 years ago. In view therefore of new realities in political, philosophical and economic affairs and in view of our common need and desire for peace, Hocking recommends a widespread and thorough-going development of "conversation" at all levels between East and West in an effort to weaken the deadly circle of mistrust and suspicion that presently manacles our two nations together. Then, says he, we must be prepared to take "creative risks" built upon "available certitudes" to break once and for all the threatening armaments pose which absorbs our energies and may well lead, if itensified, to mutual suicide.

Clear, vivid, imaginative, concrete, mature, helpful thinking about the No. 1 problem of our 1960 world. Recommended.

BARTON HUNTER



# When Your Committee Meets-

The Committee on Christian Action and Community Service in your church may find suggestions and help from the following list of events, projects and resources:

## STUDY NEEDED NOW ON MIGRANT, DISARMAMENT POLICY

National policy concerning migrant labor and disarmament are the two issues selected by the Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, for special emphasis during the second session of the 86th Congress. Local church committees and other groups may wish to study these key issues and then express their views to their Congressman and other Governmental leaders. Highlights on the two subjects and resources are mentioned below to help you in your study.

MIGRANT LEGISLATION. Legislation dealing with migrant labor will be considered by Congressional Committees this winter and spring. This will be of particular interest to the Disciples of Christ, and other church groups, because of our ministry to migrant laborers over the years. Valuable in this study will be a statement summarizing this migrant legislation by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migrant Labor. We will be glad to send this to you.\* After reviewing this you will want to write your Congressman for a copy of previous hearings held on this subject.

Legislation to be considered includes the following: (1) federal aid to schools providing special classes for children of migrants; (2) minimum wages for migrants employed by large corporate farms; (3) provision to bring agricultural children under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. In general the Congressional study is aimed at obtaining fair wages, educational opportunities for children, and good health standards for the migrants and their children.

The Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, plans to submit a statement on the migrant problem to the Congressional Committee. The views of any church group or individual studying this problem will be helpful in formulating this statement.

DISARMAMENT. Groups wishing to study and act in this field will, of course, want to watch their daily papers for the latest news. An excellent summary of all the disarmament issues was presented in the "News from the Nation's Capitol" section of the January issue of *Social Action Newsletter*. If you are not a subscriber, we will be glad to send you a sample copy\* of this issue for your study program.

Several disarmament issues will be of particular interest in the next few months: (1) atomic testing—including both treaty negotiations at Geneva to develop an international control system; and the decision of our Government not to extend its voluntary moratorium on testing; (2) possible transfer of additional nuclear weapons to allies; and (3) germ warfare—resolutions against it have been introduced by Reps. Roosevelt and Kastenmeier.

\* Two resources, in addition to your own newspaper, that will be helpful in these studies are: Social Action Newsletter and "Register Christian Opinion," a directory of Congressmen with suggestions on how to make your views effective in the political arena.

#### ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

\* Samples of any of the resources. WRITE TO: Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, 222 So. Downey Ave., Indianapolis 7, Ind.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES REPORT

"Work Ahead in Hope" is the title of the 39th annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. 75 cents. This 112 page document is a factual and concise summary of every civil liberties issue, including a substantial section of church-state relationships. It is a handy volume for anyone who speaks or writes about freedom of belief and expression; equality before the law; and due process under the law.

#### CITIZENSHIP ACTION IDEAS

In your Committee why not explore the various ways in which to use the monthly Newsletter pages, "News from the Nation's Capitol"? Some Committees have done this and indicate:

- "Two or three of our CWF Groups use the NEWS FROM THE NATION'S CAPI-TOL to: (1) make a monthly 5 minute head-line report on 3 issues before Congress. (2) provide background information for an occasional letter-writing-evening."
- "Recently, I presented a 3 minute interest sparker' on nuclear weapon test bank Result. 3 people wrote their Congressment during our coffee hour."
- "We used the Capitol News pages to present facts on the air-line liquor bills to our adult church school class. With postcards, paper, stamps, etc. ready—some people wrote right then and there . . . others wrote from home."



Second-class mail privileges authorized at Indianapolis, Indiana.